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BIS 28

HANOI: U.S. BEARS FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE DELAY

5311239 HANOI DOMESTIC SERVICE IN VIETNAMESE 1140 GMT 31 OCT 72 S

(COMMENTARY: "THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION MUST BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROLONGING THE WAR")

(TEXT) TODAY, 31 OCTOBER, IS EXACTLY THE DAY ON WHICH THE AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE IN VIETNAM SHOULD BE SIGNED OFFICIALLY, AS AGREED BY THE DRV AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS. IF THE UNITED STATES RESPECTED THE AGREEMENT REACHED, ONLY 24 HOURS LATER THE WAR THAT IS THE LONGEST, BLOODIEST, AND MOST COSTLY IN HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES IN U.S. HISTORY WOULD END, CONDITIONS WOULD ALLOW THE CAPTURED U.S. SERVICEMEN TO BE REUNITED WITH THEIR FAMILIES. THE UNITED STATES WOULD GET OUT OF THE VIETNAM MORASS WITH HONOR, AND THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WOULD HAVE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR EXERCISING THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND SOLVING THEIR INTERNAL PROBLEMS WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE.

HOWEVER, AT COMPLETE VARIANCE WITH THE LONGING OF THE VIETNAMESE AND AMERICAN PEOPLE AND BROAD SEGMENTS OF THE WORLD PUBLIC, THE WAR OF AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM DRAGS ON IN AN EXTREMELY VIOLENT MANNER. WHO BEARS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS? THIS RESPONSIBILITY RESTS ON THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, WHICH HAS ADOPTED A CROOKED ATTITUDE, WHICH HAS REFUSED TO HONOR THE POINTS AGREED ON, AND WHICH HAS NOT ONLY DODGED THE SIGNING BUT HAS ALSO RAISED AGAIN THE QUESTION OF CHANGING THE POINTS AGREED ON.

AS POINTED OUT IN OUR GOVERNMENT'S 26 OCTOBER STATEMENT, FOLLOWING MANY DAYS OF TALKS AND EXCHANGES OF MESSAGES, THE DRV AND U.S. SIDES ON 22 OCTOBER AGREED ON THE FULL TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT TO END THE WAR AND RESTORE PEACE IN VIETNAM, - ,S AGREED ON A SCHEDULE FOR THE STEPS TO BE TAKEN TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT OFFICIALLY ON 31 OCTOBER. HOWEVER, THE U.S. SIDE LATER DEMANDED THAT THE TALKS BE CONTINUED TO SOLVE NEW PROBLEMS RAISED BY THE U.S. SIDE. AT A WASHINGTON PRESS CONFERENCE ON 26 OCTOBER, U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS KISSINGER ON ONE HAND HAD TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE NEGOTIATORS HAD GOOD WILL AND A VERY SERIOUS ATTITUDE, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND HE DEMANDED THAT FURTHER TALKS BE HELD FOR 3 59 4 DAYS TO DISCUSS SIX OR SEVEN ADDITIONAL ISSUES. TO DECEIVE PUBLIC OPINION, MR KISSINGER SAID THAT PEACE WAS AT HAND, THAT AN AGREEMENT WAS IN SIGHT, AND THAT THE ISSUES THAT MUST BE DISCUSSED FURTHER ARE MINOR AND RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT.

HOWEVER, THE KEY POINT HERE IS NOT MINOR OR MAJOR ISSUES. A GRAVE FACT IS THAT THE UNITED STATES REPEATEDLY DEMANDED THAT THE POINTS AGREED IN THE AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS THE SIGNING TIME, BE CHANGED. EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE U.S. INTERVENTION AND THE WAR OF AGGRESSION WAGED BY THE UNITED STATES IN VIETNAM SINCE 1954 HAVE LASTED FOR MORE THAN 18 YEARS. SO FAR THE VIETNAM TALKS IN PARIS HAVE LASTED FOR 4 AND ONE-HALF YEARS.

REGARDING SUCH AN IMPORTANT PROBLEM AS THE VIETNAM PROBLEM, THE PROBLEM OF WAR OR PEACE, THE ATTAINMENT OF AGREEMENT FOLLOWING YEARS OF DRAWN-OUT NEGOTIATIONS IS NOT A SIMPLE FACT. IT WOULD BE A NORMAL THING IF A CERTAIN SIDE RAISED NEW ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION WHILE THE TWO SIDES WERE STILL IN THE PROCESS OF CONTINUED TALKS. THIS, HOWEVER, IS NOT THE CASE. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AND EVEN THE STATE LEADERS OF THE TWO SIDES, GRAVE AND DIGNIFIED, EXCHANGED MESSAGES AND ALREADY REACHED AGREEMENTS. NOW, TRICKERY HAS BEEN RESORTED TO. THIS IS INDEED UNPRECEDENTED IN THE HISTORY OF DIPLOMATIC TALKS.

(MORE)

31 OCT 1415Z AM/MA

BIS 31

FIRST ADD 28 (HANOI COMMENTARY)

XXX OF DIPLOMATIC TALKS.

(TEXT) SINCE 11 OCTOBER 1972 THE U.S. SIDE HAS PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE SCHEDULE FOR SIGNING THE AGREEMENT THREE TIMES. SHOWING ITS GOOD WILL, THE DRV SIDE HAS AGREED TO THE U.S. PROPOSALS. TO AVOID ITS RESPONSIBILITY, THE U.S. SIDE WANTONLY DECLARED THAT HANOI HAD SOME GENUINE MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT THE SCHEDULE FOR THE SIGNING. ACTUALLY THERE HAS BEEN NO MISUNDERSTANDING AT ALL.

IN HIS 20 OCTOBER MESSAGE TO THE DRV GOVERNMENT'S PREMIER, PRESIDENT NIXON ASSERTED THAT THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT COULD BE CONSIDERED COMPLETE, AND HE PROPOSED 31 OCTOBER AS THE SIGNING DAY. THIS WAS CLEARLY WRITTEN ON PAPER. HOW CAN THE U.S. SIDE SWALLOW ITS COMMITMENT?

IN ADDITION, THE U.S. SIDE SAID THAT ANOTHER MEETING WAS NECESSARY TO SOLVE MINOR PROBLEMS SUCH AS SEVERAL POINTS CONCERNING LANGUAGE. HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO THE DRV GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN AT THE PARIS CONFERENCE THIS PROBLEM HAD ALREADY BEEN FULLY RESOLVED. ON 11 OCTOBER BOTH SIDES HELD A PRIVATE MEETING FROM 0930 TO 0200 TO SOLVE MANY POLITICAL AND TECHNICAL POINTS. ON THE AFTERNOON AND EVENING OF 12 OCTOBER BOTH SIDES MET UNTIL AFTER MIDNIGHT TO COMPARE THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT IN BOTH LANGUAGES. ON 17 OCTOBER MINISTER XUAN THUY AND KISSINGER HELD A PRIVATE CONFERENCE FROM 1000 TO 2200 TO EXAMINE THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, SENTENCE BY SENTENCE AND WORD BY WORD. SO HOW CAN THERE BE ERRORS IN TRANSLATION?

THE NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ENDING THE WAR AND RESTORING PEACE ARE A GREAT NATIONAL CONCERN AND NOT A DECEITFUL MOVE. IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO ORGANIZATIONS OR BETWEEN TWO INDIVIDUALS, NOT TO MENTION THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO GOVERNMENTS, EACH MUST RESPECT THE SIGNATURE OF THE OTHER.

IF THE U.S. SIDE DOES NOT STOP WAVERING, IF IT CONSTANTLY DEMANDS CHANGES AND IF IT SEEKS TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF CHANGING WHAT IT HAS AGREED TO, WHEN WILL THE AGREEMENT BE SIGNED, WHEN WILL THE WAR BE ENDED AND WHEN WILL PEACE BE RESTORED?

TO JUSTIFY ITS CHEATING THE U.S. SIDE HAS ADVANCED THE PRETEXT THAT IT HAS ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTIES WITH THE SAIGON ADMINISTRATION. BUT THIS EXCUSE CONVINCES NO ONE. EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE NGUYEN VAN THIEU PUPPET ADMINISTRATION IS NOTHING BUT A U.S. TOOL FOR PURSUING THE AGGRESSIVE WAR AND MAINTAINING THE U.S. NEOCOLONIALIST YOKE IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THIEU LIVES ON U.S. BOMBS, SHELLS AND DOLLARS. HE CANNOT SURVIVE WITHOUT U.S. SUPPORT. HE HIMSELF CANNOT OPPOSE U.S. POLICIES AND DECISIONS.

THE FACT THAT IN THE PAST FEW DAYS THIEU HAS ADVANCED ENDLESS WARMONGERING ALLEGATIONS, VOICED OPPOSITION TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF NATIONAL CONCORD AND CALLED FOR THE EXTERMINATION OF PATRIOTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS ONLY A U.S. MANEUVER STAGED BEHIND THIEU'S BACK. TO EVADE RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOLVING THE VIETNAM PROBLEM, THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS USED THIEU AS A MOUTHPIECE TO VOICE THE UNITED STATES' EVIL STAND AND DESIGNS.

NOTEWORTHY IS THE FACT THAT IN THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS THE U.S. AND DRV SIDES HAVE AGREED THAT THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR REACHING CONSENT WITH THEIR ALLIES ON NEGOTIATING THE AGREEMENT. THE DRV GOVERNMENT HAS THE PRGRSV'S CONSENT, WHILE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS THE SAIGON ADMINISTRATION'S CONSENT.

AT A NEWS CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON ON 9 FEBRUARY 1972 KISSINGER STATED: AS EVERYONE KNOWS, ALL THE SECRET NEGOTIATIONS WITH NORTH VIETNAM HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED AFTER ALL NECESSARY CONSULTATIONS WITH PRESIDENT THIEU. ON 20 FEBRUARY 1972 (AS HEARD) PRESIDENT NIXON STATED AT A NEWS CONFERENCE IN THE WHITE HOUSE: NOW I CAN SAY THAT ANY PROPOSAL I WILL ADVANCE LATER WILL BE A COMMON PROPOSAL BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS. WHATEVER HAPPENS, 23 28)) ,95 -\$: -, :3 ANY ADDITIONAL PROPOSAL WITHOUT EXCHANGING VIEWS WITH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT AND WITHOUT ITS AGREEMENT.

(MORE)

31 OCT 1456Z WJ/MA

SECRET

514 21

FBIS 34

SECOND AND LAST ADD 28 (HANOI COMMENTARY)

XXX WITHOUT ITS AGREEMENT.

(TEXT) ANOTHER NOTEWORTHY DETAIL IS THAT MR KISSINGER WENT TO SAIGON TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH NGUYEN VAN THIEU FROM 13 TO 22 OCTOBER. IT WAS DURING THIS PERIOD THAT U.S. PRESIDENT NIXON SENT TWO MESSAGES, ONE DATED 20 OCTOBER AND THE OTHER DATED 22 OCTOBER, TO THE DRV PREMIER, CONFIRMING THAT THE U.S. SIDE CONSIDERED THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT COMPLETE, AND EXPRESSING SATISFACTION WITH THE DRV GOVERNMENT'S INTERPRETATIONS. THUS, IS IT REASONABLE TO SAY THAT THE U.S. PRESIDENT SENT MESSAGES WITHOUT THE LEAST AWARENESS OF MR KISSINGER'S DISCUSSIONS IN SAIGON?

THE TRUTH AS PRESENTED ABOVE IS CRYSTAL CLEAR. YET THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION NOW CLAIMS THAT BECAUSE OF DIFFICULTIES CREATED BY NGUYEN VAN THIEU, NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE RENEWED. HOW CAN THIS BE CONSIDERED REASONABLE?

IN SHORT, ALL THE PRETEXTS ADVANCED BY THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION TO DODGE THE SIGNING ARE UNTEABLE. THUS, THE QUESTION IS: WHY HAS THE UNITED STATES PERSISTENTLY DELAYED THE SIGNING? WHY DID THE UNITED STATES MAKE A PROMISE, THEN BREAK IT? IT IS BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES STILL INTENDS TO NEGOTIATE FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH, CONTINUE PROLONGING THE WAR OF AGGRESSION, AND MAINTAIN THE YOKE OF U.S. NEOCOLONIALIST DOMINATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE UNITED STATES DELIBERATELY PROLONGS THE TALKS TO DECEIVE PUBLIC OPINION AND PURSUE ITS VIETNAMIZATION POLICY. THEREFORE, THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT WANT TO END THE WAR AND RESTORE PEACE ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL RIGHTS AND THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

FACED WITH THIS SITUATION, OUR PEOPLE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO CONTINUE THEIR RESISTANCE AND STEP UP THEIR STRUGGLE ON THE MILITARY, POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC FRONT UNTIL TOTAL VICTORY IS ACHIEVED.

OUR PEOPLE ARE VERY EAGER FOR PEACE, A PEACE IN INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM AND NOT IN SLAVERY. WE HAVE BEEN FIGHTING THE U.S. AGGRESSORS FOR A DOZEN YEARS, TO REGAIN INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM FOR THE FATHERLAND. IF THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT WANT TO GIVE UP ITS AGGRESSIVE DESIGNS, WE WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT UNTIL THE DAY WE ACHIEVE OUR BASIC NATIONAL RIGHTS. WE ARE DETERMINED TO FULFILL OUR SACRED, HISTORICAL MISSION.

WE HAVE THE STRENGTH OF OUR ANCESTORS'S AGE-OLD TRADITION OF ANTI-AGGRESSION STRUGGLE. WE ENJOY THE CLEAR-SIGHTED LEADERSHIP OF A VANGUARD PARTY WHOSE CORRECT, SOVEREIGN LINE OF INDEPENDENCE HAS LED OUR PEOPLE FROM ONE VICTORY TO ANOTHER. OUR ENTIRE PEOPLE ARE UNITED AND DETERMINED. OUR POSITION AND STRENGTH ARE NOW FIRMER THAN EVER BEFORE.

WE ENJOY THE STRONG ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT OF THE FRIENDLY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND PROGRESSIVES ALL OVER THE WORLD. TIME IS WITH US, AND NOT WITH THE U.S.-THIEF CLIQUE. OUR PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AT PRESENT FACES MANY DIFFICULTIES AND HARDSHIPS, BUT THE ENEMY'S DIFFICULTIES ARE MORE NUMEROUS THAN OURS. WE WILL SURELY OVERCOME ALL TRIALS AND HARDSHIPS. WE WILL SURELY WIN EVEN GREATER SUCCESSES. THE U.S.-PUPPETS CANNOT TURN THE TIDE.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION MUST NOW CHOOSE BETWEEN THESE TWO ALTERNATIVES: EITHER CARRY OUT WHAT IT HAS AGREED TO AT THE PARIS CONFERENCE, END ITS AGGRESSIVE WAR AGAINST VIETNAM AND AT THE SAME TIME SALVAGE U.S. HONOR, OR CONTINUE THIS COSTLY, INJUST AND POINTLESS WAR AND FINALLY SUSTAIN MORE SERIOUS SETBACKS UNTIL TOTAL DEFEAT.

(ENDALL)

31 OCT 1513Z WJ/CAJ